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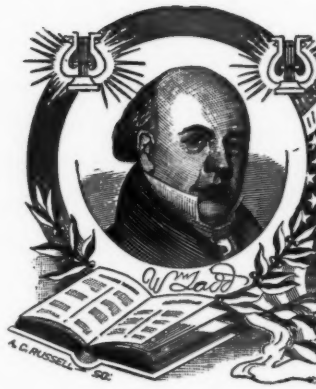
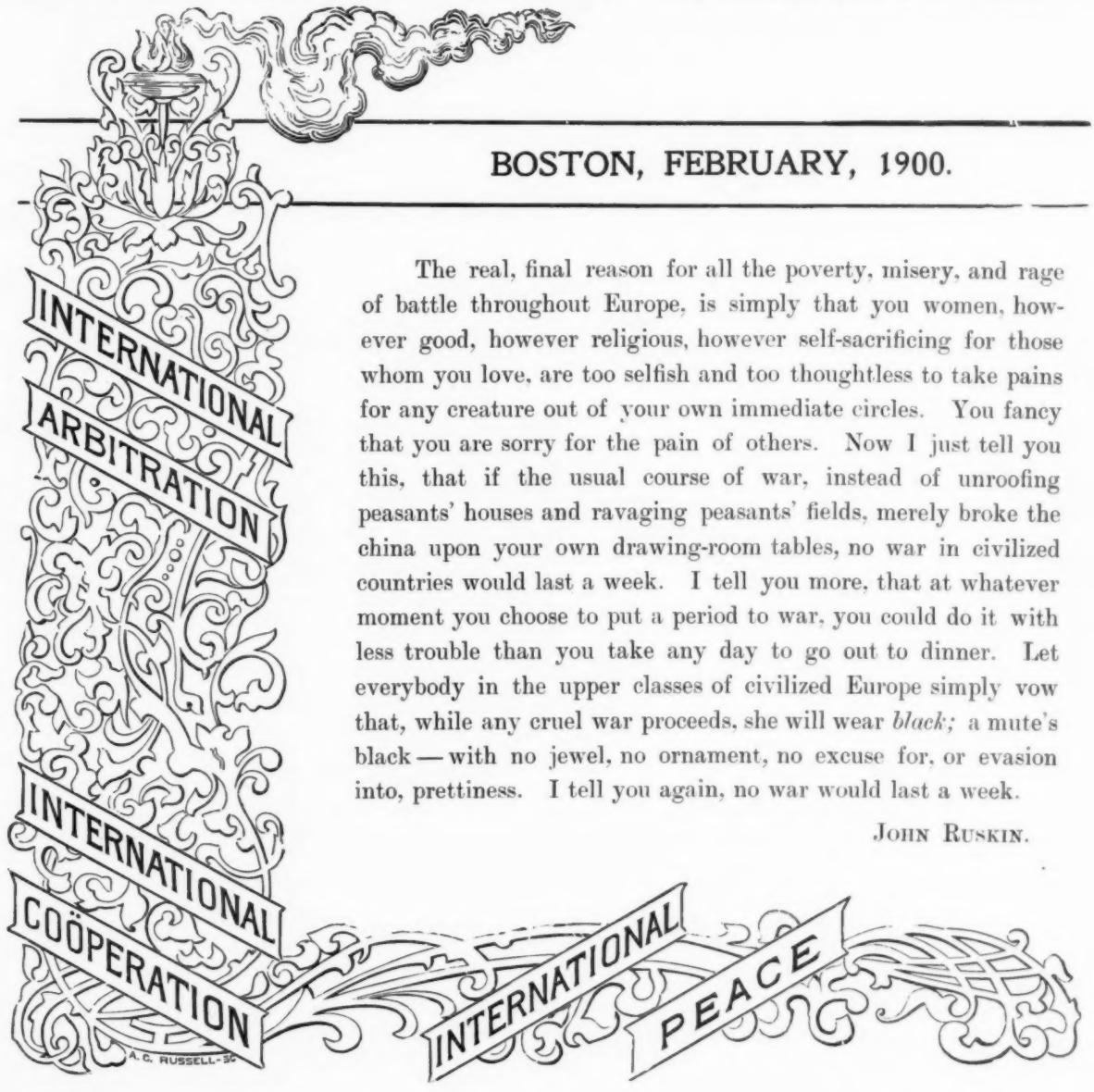


The Advocate of Peace.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY, 1900.

The real, final reason for all the poverty, misery, and rage of battle throughout Europe, is simply that you women, however good, however religious, however self-sacrificing for those whom you love, are too selfish and too thoughtless to take pains for any creature out of your own immediate circles. You fancy that you are sorry for the pain of others. Now I just tell you this, that if the usual course of war, instead of unroofing peasants' houses and ravaging peasants' fields, merely broke the china upon your own drawing-room tables, no war in civilized countries would last a week. I tell you more, that at whatever moment you choose to put a period to war, you could do it with less trouble than you take any day to go out to dinner. Let everybody in the upper classes of civilized Europe simply vow that, while any cruel war proceeds, she will wear *black;* a mute's black — with no jewel, no ornament, no excuse for, or evasion into, prettiness. I tell you again, no war would last a week.

JOHN RUSKIN.



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"A Sad and Terrible Slaughter."

Everything else about the South African war receives more attention than the ghastly wickedness of the fighting itself. One would have expected that in these days of conscience and tender feeling it would have been otherwise. A vast amount of intellectual ingenuity has been expended in trying to prove that the British or the Boers were the guilty cause of the war; that the interests of civilization would be promoted by the victory of this party or of that; that Great Britain or that the Transvaal is sure to win. Day by day men have perplexed their brains speculating whether the Cape Dutch will rise against England, whether the natives will fall to murdering the whites, whether the European powers will intervene, whether France or Russia will become involved in war with Great Britain, whether the British empire will weather the storm or go to pieces.

What little time and intellectual acumen have been left have been spent in oracular advice as to how the British ought to conduct the campaign, in criticism of the war office, of the conduct of the generals on the field, of Mr. Chamberlain or of Mr. Gladstone.

Most of these, possibly all of them, have been proper subjects of discussion. Thoughtful men cannot help thinking and speaking of the numberless stirring and complex questions which any war raises. But the intellectual excitement of these seems to paralyze the moral faculties before the awful tragedy going on at the heart of them all. Instead of raising a great cry of horror and detestation which would shake the whole structure of civilization from side to side, men and women of kind heart and tender sensibility look coolly on the murderous and cruel assaults of battle as if they were matters of course, or after a moment of pain turn away from them entirely with tearless indifference. A witness of one of the battles between Generals Methuen and Cronje, after giving some details of the awful hell-pit before his eyes, despairs of finding words to make any one feel the unspeakable horrors of the scene, and declares that the best he can do is to call it a "sad and terrible slaughter."

How can men and women, who weep over an ordinary death, who go frenzied over a railway wreck or an ocean disaster, read and speak without pain of what is deliberately done every day in South Africa? Men go out in the morning scouting; in the evening their horses come back without them, or are seen dragging them away over the hills and plains. Shells are dropped into tents killing half a dozen men, mangling as many more, and tearing the life out of a dozen horses. Men charge with inhuman yells up a hill, bodies are ripped to shreds and heads blown off as they go. When they reach the top other men, rolling on their backs and begging for mercy, are jabbed to death with lances, and it is euphemistically called "excellent pig-sticking." Troops stealthily conceal themselves, and when their enemy is near, pour murderous volleys which sweep down whole ranks, and this fiendishness is called shrewdness and

strategy! An attempt is made to cross a river, and dead and wounded are heaped up in bloody, writhing piles and rows by the terrific rifle and rapid-gun fire. People seem to lose all heart and conscience when they read of these diabolical brutalities. Worse still, most persons enter much into the spirit of the participants, madly exulting if one side wins, raving or sullenly despairing if victory goes to the other.

It is sometimes said that battlefields are not the worst part of war. Certainly they are not the whole of it, for its spiritual corruptions as well as its material damages permeate to the farthest verge of society. But the battlefield is the sign and seal of all the rest. One may deny that the battlefield, taken in its entirety, is the worst thing on earth, but no supposed proof of the assertion is convincing against the intuitive perception of a pure and sincere spirit. A battle is the supreme denial of love, brotherhood, solidarity. It is the supreme assertion of self-confidence and self-will. It is the supreme contempt and rejection of others. It is the supreme exhibition of the elements of human discord and destructiveness. No motives, however lofty, which are supposed to justify war, can ever alter its nature, for these are not the elements in play during the combat.

The use of the horrors of the battlefield as an argument against war is not alone sentimental reasoning. The sentimental argument is strong enough. But the battlefield is very much more than the material horrors and bodily sufferings which constitute its exterior form. If its spiritual side could be portrayed, something infinitely sadder and more shocking would be seen. It is a "sad and terrible slaughter" of the humanities—of love, patience, tenderness of spirit, forgiveness, self-abnegation, self-control, truthfulness, purity of speech. The opposites of these come forth seeking whom they may devour. Of the proper relations of man to man the battlefield leaves nothing for the time being. Men are not only slain, blown or cut to pieces; they are captured and marched off as slaves temporarily. Home, wife, child—nothing is thought of them. Life, happiness, are held cheaper than shot and shell.

What is needed at a time like this of the Transvaal War is men and women who will dare to utter the covered thought of their heart about the iniquity of fighting. We are sure there are many who feel it as a ceaseless burden on their souls. Fear of suffering, of giving offense, of being misunderstood, cannot excuse one from making his protest against iniquity when it is being committed. Whichever of the two may be the more guilty and worthy of the severer condemnation, Briton and Boer are both wrong in turning themselves into butchers and seeking to settle the differences between them by mutual extermination. The same is true of men of whatever nation who in our time refuse the better way of peaceful settlement and return to the methods of the dog and the tiger.

Opposition in England to the South African War.

Notwithstanding England's great military outpouring and determined purpose to "see the thing through" in South Africa, apparently with the united support of the country, there are evidences of a deep and growing opposition to the war as "a bitter wrong and a gigantic blunder." Dr. Spence Watson, an able publicist in the north of England, is quoted as saying that where one man spoke out in opposition to the Crimean War, hundreds are openly declaring themselves opposed to the present one. A cultivated English lady, in a letter we have recently received, says: "Personally, I hear very little except voices condemning the war, but the papers are full of the war-spirit, bought over as they are by those whose interest it is to further their own aims at the expense of the nation."

A writer in the *Independent* (British), under date of December 28, says that the minority which opposes the war is not only strong intellectually, but that "it is growing in numbers every day." He then mentions a number of men, well known everywhere, as belonging to this minority. Among them are Mr. Morley, Mr. Courtney, Sir William Harcourt, Sir Edward Clarke, Mr. Frederick Harrison, Dr. Clifford, Mr. Stead, Mr. Frederick Greenwood, Mr. Herbert Spencer, Mr. Massingham, Mr. Crook, Mr. Justin McCarthy, Mr. Clement Shorter, Mr. Sylvester Horne and Mr. Silas Hocking. He might have added almost indefinitely to the list, using only the names of men prominent in public and private life. Mr. Massingham, whom he mentions, was the editor of the *Chronicle* and one of the most talented of British journalists. He stepped down and out, because he would not submit to "the will of his imperialist proprietors." Two of his co-laborers, Messrs. Harold Spender and Vaughan Nash, left the *Chronicle* with him. Mr. Crook was the editor of the *Echo*. He gave up his position rather than be the tool of the conscienceless counting-room.

The writer in the *Independent* cites an occurrence in St. James' Hall illustrating the strength of the opposition:

"Mr. Price Hughes had the bad taste to devote the afternoon of Peace Sunday to a violent speech in favor of the war, and he must not be surprised that his hearers, who have benefited by his teaching in an entirely opposite direction during many years, interrupted him with some very straight and embarrassing questions. Their behavior was, however, beyond criticism, and very different from the conduct of the Trafalgar Square mob, who were on Mr. Price Hughes' side, and who, having no better arguments, pelted white-haired advocates of peace with open penknives and rotten tomatoes. The firm but courteous protest at St. James's Hall on Sunday afternoon shows that a feeling is steadily growing among the

younger and more thoughtful Nonconformists that the war is a bitter wrong and a gigantic blunder."

Dr. Clifford, the president of the Baptist Union, is totally opposed to the war. He says: "I find *a loathing of the war everywhere*. It is a testimony to the imbecility of statesmen. When I think how the lust of gold has grown on us, and how the passion for territory has been fed, I am alarmed for my country." Mr. Silas Hocking's public protest against the war brought him "*an immense number of letters*" thanking him for his manly words. The bishop of London has written a letter to his clergy deploring the national pride and holding the clergy responsible for this temper manifested by the people, and exhorting them all to listen to the voice of God.

Because of the British disasters, a day of humiliation and prayer was proposed. In reference to this Rev. J. Hirst Hollowell wrote:

"By all means let us have days of prayer and humiliation, only let us pray and be humble for the right things. If a man or a bishop asks me to go to church to pray that more thousands of brave fellows—including, perhaps, my nearest and dearest—may be left in their blood by the Tugela, the Modder, or the Kei, I can do nothing of the kind. But if we are to pray for peace and goodwill, and not merely that we may 'see this thing through,' I shall be there. If we are to humble ourselves for the evil English of our despatches, for acceptances written to act as refusals, for speeches that could only wound and goad to anger, for delayed proposals and hastened troops, and, in short, for the whole machinery and apparatus of provocation set in motion against a small power with the population of Salford and Oldham, then we all ought to go. But to ask us to go to church and lament before God that more Dutch farmers have not been blown to pieces and more Boer families left broken-hearted is beyond the elasticity of conscience of the most ordinary man of the world. Negotiations conducted in the spirit of Gladstone, rather than nagging provocations and shufflings in the manner of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, would have saved our prestige, strengthened our empire, secured speedy justice for the white races, preserved our gallant soldiers alive, and offered to the world an example of courage superior even to the splendid daring of the field."

Opposition to the war may not grow to large enough proportions to force the government to stop it, though this is not so sure if a few more disasters befall. But its existence in the nation, among people whose ability, character and patriotism are of the highest, is a significant fact. It is the Gladstone spirit, deep-rooted and widespread among the people, contending for the true English life and character, the true English progress and glory, the true English greatness and honor. It is as brave as it is right. It dares to utter itself while the whole English army is in the field, when the government is quick to scent treason. It is not afraid to confess England's sin and shame when all Europe is full of dislike of her and desire for her humiliation. It is an extraordinary exhibition of moral faithfulness and political courage. Whatever it may or may not accomplish just now, its existence in Parliament and among the people is an encouraging sign. It is the salt of the islands. It is the light of England's life. It is an assurance that false patriotism, greed and lust of dominion cannot carry the citadel of Britain's strength. When the present storm is over and the destructive elements have had their moment of ruinous pleasure, these men will bring England back to her moorings. There will be a great reaction against the avaricious, ambitious, supercilious jingoism and rough-shod imperialism which have brought the country into its present state of pride and reckless inhumanity, which none deplore so much as those who love and honor England most.

Editorial Notes.

Turncoat Peace Men.

Mr. Hugh Price Hughes, leader of the religious work in St. James' Hall, London, and editor of the *Methodist Times*, has been swept away from his peace anchorage by the tide of war sentiment in England. He was the last man in England that we supposed would abandon his former professions and work. We have heard him in St. James' Hall plead against "the crowning insanity of war" as almost no other preacher in England could do. For thirty years on platforms all over Great Britain he has been uttering such sentiments as these:

"All race-hatred is simply diabolical." "Any man who says that any other nation is the natural or necessary enemy of our own is a disciple of antichrist." "I blush to say that the protest against war to-day does not come from the Church but from the Socialists." "The kingdom which Christ came to establish was a kingdom of peace." "God has made of one blood every nation under heaven. If instead of spending our time, money and brains in misunderstanding and deceiving one another, in making one another miserable and in killing one another, we spent our time, money and brains in trying to make one another happy, what a delightful world this would become!" "Undoubtedly Count Tolstoy is perfectly right when he says that we cannot overcome evil by resisting it. As John Bright declared, 'Force is no remedy.' Love is the only remedy."

But now Mr. Hughes has abandoned all this. He has done "as much as any other man" to bring on the Transvaal War, and is one of the most rabid supporters of the British side of it. He has adopted the inane theory of a South African Dutch conspiracy to drive the British into the sea. He attempts on this ground, in an editorial of thirteen paragraphs in the *Methodist Times*, to justify Great Britain's course, — Chamberlain, Rhodes, Milner and all. No exaggeration of the Boer's faults can exceed his. His race-hatred of them is boiled down. He will not allow pleas for the Boers in his paper. The

afternoon of Peace Sunday, December 24, he devoted his entire discourse to a violent defense of the war on the British side. He still protested that he abhorred war. "It is inconsistent," he said, "with both Christianity and common-sense." But in this case, though "*a crowning insanity*," it was necessary in order to defend Englishmen against the wiles and wickedness of the Boers. Mr. Hughes' audience, trained for years under his peace teachings, could not swallow all this absurdity without solemn protest. For every charge he brought against the Boers, some one in the audience shouted one back against the conduct of the British officials. When he was justifying the war, though "war is un-Christian and inconsistent with common-sense," a lady stood up and, swinging a Bible above her head, condemned him out of his own mouth. One cannot help asking whether Mr. Hughes ever had more than a scenic attachment to the principles which he so eloquently professed. When the war is over, he will probably profess as loudly as ever that war is "the crowning insanity," that "force is no remedy," that "race-hatred is diabolical," but he will have to seek new audiences. If he should ever proclaim again that Socialists are better peace men than ministers of the gospel, the people will have an added reason for believing the truth of the assertion. Nothing can be more deplorable or more pitiable than the course which Mr. Hughes has taken.

Mediation.

A large amount of influence has been brought to bear on President McKinley to try to induce him to tender the good offices of the United States with a view to bringing to an end the war in South Africa. This has come not from the peace organizations alone, but from religious bodies, educational institutions, public meetings of citizens, prominent individuals, etc. So far no steps have been taken by the government, and there is little probability that any effort will be made in that direction until the military situation in South Africa undergoes a decided change. The government ought, however, to be on the lookout for the first favorable moment for mediation. The provisions of the Hague Convention make it possible for any neutral government to tender its good offices without being considered unfriendly. Yet our government is practically the only one which, from its well-known friendliness toward Great Britain, could do this with any hope of success. The offer, which would be welcomed by the Transvaal, would do no damage even if rejected by the British government. Its moral influence on the world would not be lost. Such an offer need not necessarily be made in a form which would implicity recognize the independence of the Transvaal. The South African Republic has universally been recognized as independent in its internal affairs. As these are the matters about which, ostensibly, the fighting is going on, mediation might, it seems to us, be offered in reference to these matters, leaving the questions of suzerainty and independence aside. The Transvaal would almost certainly be ready for this. If England declined, it would be a clear revelation of the real motive with which she is fighting.

Peace Bureau.

On the last day of December the International Peace Bureau at Berne addressed the following letter to President McKinley, imploring him to tender the good offices of the United States to bring to an end the South African War:

"*Mr. President:* On this last day of the year the thoughts of the friends of humanity turn to the Transvaal War, which constitutes one of the most painful events of the close of the nineteenth century. It is with ardent and universal longings for peace that the peoples are thinking at this moment of the rôle of peacemaker to which you are called by your high office and by the friendly relations which your great republic holds with the government of Her Britannic Majesty. The recent notification of a state of war between England and the two republics of South Africa has conferred upon the neutral governments the right to apply to the existing circumstances Article 3 of the Hague Convention relative to the tendering of good offices and mediation. The United States of America, whose representatives energetically supported the humanitarian principles contained in this convention, would perform a work of great merit if she should now devote her legitimate influence to the cause of peace in South Africa. History would honor her for the deed and the present generation also would be profoundly grateful. We venture to express the hope that our appeal for your benevolent intervention will find a favorable echo in your own generous heart, and we take the liberty of presenting to you, Mr. President, the expression of our high consideration.

On behalf of the Committee of the Bureau,

ELIE DUCOMMUN,
Honorary Secretary.

Gold Mines and War.

The *National Single Taxer* might be much farther from the truth than when it says, as everybody knows, that the gold mines are the cause of the South African War:

"The land question is at the bottom of the Transvaal War. The land grabber is on the war path there. There is a franchise grievance, there is a dynamite monopoly, but these are effects, not causes, of the struggle between British and Boer. The gold mines are the cause. There is nothing in the Transvaal worth having except the gold mines. The country is an arid upland, badly watered, swept by cold blasts in winter and scorched by the sun in summer. In order to find fodder and water for their cattle, the Boers drive their herds nomad-fashion over large tracts. They live far apart; they do not wash very often; and they read the Bible twice a day.

If they huddled together, they would starve; if they washed very often, they would have no water to drink; and if they stopped reading the Bible they would have no culture at all. They take what they can get. It is not necessary to take sides in the struggle between British and Boer, in order to acknowledge that the land question is at the bottom of their war. The fact is patent. Sometimes the land question deals with agriculture, at other times with forests, but most often with urban sites, because the greatest values lie there. In the Transvaal the land question is one of mines, for the pastoral and agricultural values are not worth fighting about; there are no forests as far as I know, and the urban values are of small account so far, but the value of the Rand mines is enormous. The ridge near Johannesburg produces more gold annually than any other district in the world. The money markets, in their scramble for gold, are panic-stricken, because the supply from these has been temporarily cut off."

Czar is Pleased.

Nicholas II. has addressed a rescript to Count Muravieff, commending him for his success in bringing about Cretan autonomy, in securing an ice-free outlet in the east, and in removing causes of misunderstanding with Great Britain and Japan. In regard to the outcome of the Hague Conference, the rescript says:

"I feel particular satisfaction in recording among the services you have rendered the efforts and care you have consecrated to the fulfilment of my inmost desire to assure to all peoples the benefits of real and durable peace. The results of the labors of the conference at The Hague give me steadfast hope that solid bases have been established for the realization of the aim so dear to my heart, all the Powers having recognized the possibility and necessity of generally settling this question. I recall with real pleasure your eminently useful labors and devotion to the throne, and I particularly appreciate the assistance you have rendered in increasing the prestige of Russia by your brilliant execution of my directions and views, with the object of securing a pacific settlement of the complex problems of external policy."

It is an interesting fact that the Czar is keeping the work of the Hague Conference steadily before the world. His "steadfast hope" has behind it a steadfast purpose to use his influence at every possible point to further the work so auspiciously begun. It is rumored that he proposes to call another conference of the European nations this summer with a view to further discussion of a possible truce of armaments.

Trade War with Canada.

Senator McMillan of Michigan is trying to induce our government to declare a trade war against Canada. It is scarcely thinkable that the government will view the proposition with any seriousness. The cause of the senator's belligerent spirit is the act of the government of Ontario requiring the lessees of the timber lands in the province to have their logs sawed before shipping. Under the Dingley tariff pine logs can be shipped into the United States free, while sawed pine lumber pays two dollars duty per thousand feet. Under this law the Ontario saw-mill men are driven out of the United States market, because the men who imported the logs and sawed them on this side could undersell them. If the duty on sawed pine lumber were restored to the old rate of one dollar per thousand feet there would be no trouble. The attempt to drive the Canadian lumbermen out of our market by doubling the old duty has resulted in the retaliation act, which is crippling the Michigan lumbermen, whose timber lands are exhausted, by preventing them from bringing logs over from Canada. If this government should undertake to get even with Canada by declaring a general trade war, it would not in the least benefit the Michigan lumbermen and would do immense mischief in many other directions. About eighty million dollars worth of United States goods, mostly manufactured, are sold in Canada yearly, while Canada sells to us less than half that amount, mostly raw materials. A trade war which would cut off thirty millions of dollars of trade on the Canadian side, would destroy more than twice that much on our side. A trade war is one in which the other side can fight too. It is amazing that intelligent men in the Senate, or anywhere else, will advocate measures springing from as low and selfish motives, and leading to as disastrous results as that proposed by the senator from Michigan. If Mr. McMillan would advise the undoing of the first step which has led to the present trouble he would deserve a hearing, and he would be heard. Men who go to war must expect to share in its destructiveness.

Conscription Approaching.

The editor of *Concord* thinks that England has reached the last stage before conscription. The regular army, the navy force, the militia and the volunteers now make up a total of about 900,000 men-at-arms, or one-seventh of the male population between the ages of twenty and forty years. No further increase can take place except at the cost of industrial decay, and this increase is quite sure not to take place voluntarily. A large proportion of the army and navy are doomed to foreign service, and Lord Wolseley declares that conscription for this service is impossible. "We are then," says *Concord*, "driven to the conclusion that the half-born ideal of the military class is a highly paid mercenary army for foreign affairs *plus* a compulsory home army in which the utmost inducements, and even a measure of social pressure, should be applied in emergencies to 'volunteer' for foreign service—such inducements and such pressure as are being used at the present moment to get militiamen, volunteers

and reservists into service in South Africa. This is the best notion we can form of the next stage in the military development of the British people. If this be the plan, the sooner it is understood the sooner there will be a revolt against the whole fraud and wickedness of militant imperialism."

Open Door in China.

Secretary Hay is considered to have won a very great diplomatic triumph in the success of his negotiations for insuring the "open door" for American trade in China. Great Britain had long desired and worked for the assurance from the other Powers that the "open door" would be maintained, but had failed to secure it. Our Secretary of State asked for written assurances from all the Powers which have obtained concessions in China. Replies have been received from all but Italy and Japan, and the non-receipt of their notes is probably due to a delay in the mails, as they were foremost in welcoming our overtures. It seems that this formal agreement of the great Powers ought to work for the preservation of the integrity of China. There will be less temptation to annex territory now that it has been agreed that all parts of the empire shall remain open to the commerce of all the Powers on like terms. However, formal agreements are easily broken when the ambition or greed of a nation dictates, and there is no absolute certainty that the "open door" will be maintained until all these Powers abandon the policy of exclusion on their own account, and become convinced that freedom of trade is the right policy, and that every nation gains by the gain of every other. Mr. Hay's success will certainly lead in this direction.

The Only Gospel Way.

In his Christmas sermon Dr. C. H. Parkhurst of New York spoke as follows, as to the only gospel way of promoting civilization:

"When all those matters (economics, etc.) are put one side and we come on to ground that is distinctly *my* province as a representative of Jesus Christ, then I do not yield to you; and I am going to say to you, without any 'buts' or 'wheresoevers,' that to promote civilization by the use of swords and artillery is false to the word, example and life of Jesus Christ and of all his apostles, and alien to the entire genius of Christianity. If you say to that, that there are places in the world where Christianity has sprung up as an aftergrowth of military conquest, undoubtedly; but that does not alter anything so far as relates to the point I have just made. It does not relieve filthy soil that flowers grow out of it. God is all the time doing that thing. . . . Or you may claim that the powder and shot method of extending civilization is more feasible, works with greater promptness. A Krupp gun does quick execution; a missionary and a Bible are slow. I do not dispute that. I am not here to claim that Christianity is feasible. A great many Christians, laymen and clergymen of our own and other denominations, have during the past year confessed that Christianity is not feasible. Thousands of ministers have practically been confessing to the world these last twelve months that Christ's way of saving the world will not work. . . . Perhaps they are right; at least I am not here to say that they are *not* right. I should be sorry to have to conclude that the gospel is inadequate without gunpowder to support it, and when I do conclude that, I shall stop preaching out of self-respect; at least I shall stop calling myself a preacher of the *gospel*. . . . I have simply dropped all questions of gold and diamonds and commercial perquisites, of which I know little, and have stated to you the mind of Jesus Christ, of which I do know something. Now you can ignore that mind and promote civilization by killing,—which may be the best way,—or you can adopt that mind and promote civilization by making alive, which is the only gospel way."

Workingmen and War.

Apropos of the Transvaal War, Mr. Hodgson Pratt, president of the International Arbitration and Peace Association, London, has sent a timely letter to the members of the English Workingmen's Clubs, of whose Union he is the president. The plea of his letter is "the need of education in politics." Justice, he argues, in international relations is indispensable for national security and welfare. War is a denial of justice. Many, however, consider the bludgeon method just, wise and honorable. Accordingly thousands of men supposed to be civilized are led by their rulers to murder each other about some dispute of which they know nothing. Each country saddles itself with debt. Public works absolutely necessary to national prosperity are neglected. Militarism devours the prosperity of every nation. The military class grows ever more powerful. Militarism also spells moral ruin. It creates a thirst for false glory, conquest of weaker races, robbery. It means despotism, oligarchy, as evidenced by the Dreyfus case in France, the insolence of the German army. Next to justice, a still nobler ideal than justice, is fraternity. War is the contradiction of fraternity. Fraternity leads men to coöperate. It is the origin of all the deeds of goodness. It is the moral sunshine of the world. War is the opposite. In its track follow murder, plunder, incendiarism, torture, misery, ruin in a thousand forms. Military rivalry has led to conscription in many great states. It will be so in England, if the people do not vigorously oppose the military chiefs. Shall England be cursed with a law of *compulsory man-slaying?* Mr. Pratt then pleads with the workingmen that every one who throws his vote in support of evil is a traitor. Workingmen form the immense majority of voters. They must study political questions carefully, impartially. The Union of Workingmen was founded for this purpose. If London possessed two hundred vigorous clubs affiliated with the Union, such a war as that with the Transvaal

would have been impossible. It was impossible for a candid man to understand why this war should have come about. Those who had brought it on were guilty of a great national crime. The English people chiefly were guilty. Many of them were ignorant and careless, many infected with militarism, love of fighting and a passion for stealing other men's lands. Great responsibility rests on the workingmen's clubs in preventing such disasters from falling on the nation.

Samoan Treaty.

The Samoan treaty, in accordance with which England withdraws and the control of the islands is divided between the United States and Germany, was ratified by the Senate in executive session on the 16th of January. Senator Bacon opposed the treaty on the ground that it annulled the old treaty provisions and annexed the islands falling to the United States, and brought them under our sovereignty, without the consent of the inhabitants of the islands. The friends of the treaty, replying to Senator Bacon and other opponents, insisted that the old treaty provisions were not annulled by the new agreement, and that the islands which the treaty gives to this country would simply be under a protectorate as formerly, but under sole United States protectorate instead of a joint protectorate as heretofore. After two hours of debate the treaty was ratified by the Senate without a division

Military Education.

A writer in *Werner's Magazine* for January argues for military education on the ground that boys naturally take to tales of battle and accounts of wars and military adventures. He says: "Every boy is fond of the brass buttons and the bright cloth of the cadet uniform, and he resolves that he will be a soldier some day. Tales of battle on sea and land and accounts of wars and military adventures interest him most." There are two most falacious and dangerous principles underlying this reasoning: One is that battles on land and sea are a noble pursuit and that young men may train for them as a profession and prepare to bring them on, just as they would for teaching, or preaching, or trading, or any other of the helpful, constructive arts of life. Battles on land or sea should, on the contrary, be looked at by all young men with horror and loathing, as the most inhuman deeds which men are ever called on to perform. The second fallacy underlying the argument of the writer quoted is, that whatever boys are inclined to do and take to, they should be trained in and for. For if the argument is to be held valid for the fighting instinct and the love of brass buttons, it is valid for every other instinct and every other love of "fuss and feathers." This principle, stripped of all veneering and supposed justifying motives, is animalism pure and simple. The whole course of a right education is directed toward the evolving of *right principles* of conduct, with a love of the true, the beautiful and the good; and at the same time toward the suppression of selfish, vile and destructive instincts. If exactness, neatness, promptness, obedience and coöperation cannot be secured without cultivating the arts of hate and death, it would be a thousand times better to leave the boys angular, slouchy, careless and whining. But military education is in no sense necessary to secure these qualities, as any one knows who calls to mind the multitudes of young men who have them without ever having taken a drill-step or stuck a gun to his shoulder. All the careless, lazy, whining, slouchy boys also could be brought to possess these traits if the effort to give them were only made by teachers in healthful, harmless ways. It is a slander on human nature to assume that manly, upright, handsome young men can only be made through training in the art of man-killing.

Airship as Peacemaker.

The near approach of the solution of the airship problem leads Mr. Charles H. Ames of Boston, in a letter to the *Boston Herald*, to declare his belief that this solution will compel the peace of the world:

"Once granted the existence of a dirigible airship, capable of carrying one or two men and a few thousands, or even hundreds, of pounds of the highest explosives such as are now at the service of science, and military operations of the ordinary sort will cease. It will be seen that not only all camps and storehouses, but all forts and ramparts, all armies and ironclads, will be absolutely at the mercy of the man with the airship. When it is possible for even two men in one small airship to float at night over New York, or London, or Paris, or any other great metropolis, carrying no lights themselves, but guided perfectly by the lights of the city, and at a height so great that no interference with them could be attempted even if their presence could be known, and from that height to drop at any point they chose the awful explosives which would shatter any human structure, then, indeed, the climax and end will be reached. In the presence of such a possibility, the leading nations of the world will simply be obliged to confederate and to elect peace to avoid annihilation. No nation will go to war when war means annihilation. When the resources of science can be applied as I have suggested, then the powers of all government will be combined for the absolute control of these resources."

This is an exhilarating prognostication, and if there were assurance that it would be realized, the peace societies would probably all at once invest their small stock in the airship business. But we have little confidence that the end of war will or can come in this way. Nations have always found a way of offsetting the inventions of their neighbors. If one of them should go on the

war-path in the air, the others would do the same. The airship floating noiselessly over a great city or a fort to destroy it, would find another silently floating in the same region armed with lyddite guns, to blow it in pieces. Men who will fight under present frightful conditions would fight battles in the air at whatever risk. Ever since the invention of gunpowder it has been confidently prophecied that the new implements would put an end to war. But no progress has yet been made in that direction. The only effect has been to change the manner of fighting. All progress toward the abolition of war has been on the positive side—the growth of intelligence, of conscience, of goodwill, of intercommunication, of commerce. Airships will certainly aid in the development of these and will thus aid in putting an end to war, but not otherwise we fear.

Ethical Opposition to War.

In a noteworthy survey of contemporary social movements in Europe, F. W. Foerster writes as follows in the *Ethical Record:*

"One trait may be traced through the whole present ethical movement on the continent of Europe: it is the strong resistance to the military spirit and to the military method of dealing with social questions. It implies a revision of all those moral valuations which issue in the worship of the destroying hero, and the elevation of a new type of man, adapted in all habits of thought and action to withstand the feverishness and excitement of the time. The ethical movement in France, for instance, as organized in the "*Union pour l'Action Morale*," is the spiritual concentration of all the opposition to that hierarchy of the sword which is the menace of France. Expressing the same aim Professor Morenos, in Venice, the leader of the "*Cercolo Etico-sociale*," addressing a meeting of mothers in his workingmen's school, said that the mothers should cultivate in the souls of their children the new world-redeeming force of mildness. Similarly the German Society for Ethical Culture, according to the motives of its founders, is an attempt to check the demoralization for which Bismarck was responsible, by encouraging that spirit of remorseless brutality, which, although it may have been of some use in the time of the Roman Empire, is absolutely inappropriate to the complex tasks of modern civilization."

W. C. T. U. Peace Work.

Before us lies the twelfth annual report of the peace and arbitration department of the national W. C. T. U. It is a small pamphlet of thirty-four pages, containing Mrs. Bailey's summary of the work of the department for the past year, and her comments on the general aspects of the peace question. This department of the work of the W. C. T. U. is now organized in twenty-eight states, besides the District of Columbia and the territory of New Mexico. Each state has a superintendent, and as far as possible also each county. This brings a large number of women into active peace work, and among them are some of the most gifted women in the Temperance Union. The chief work of the department is directed toward the right training of children in regard to peace, but there is scarcely an aspect of the peace movement which does not receive serious attention. The principal event in the work of the department the past year, aside from its regular lines, was the simultaneous holding of meetings all over the nation at the time of the opening of the Hague Conference, which the W. C. T. U. supported with all its forces. Much of Mrs. Bailey's report is given up to abstracts of reports from the state superintendents, by whom a large amount of most valuable local work has been done. Mrs. Bailey's report can be had by addressing her at Winthrop Centre, Me.

John Ruskin.

John Ruskin, who has just died, was one of the prominent figures in English life during the last fifty years. He was a great lover of beauty, and did vigorous art criticism. But his work in this line, though he gave more attention to it than to anything else, has not been considered of the highest order. His contributions to the discussion of labor problems were very original and highly valuable, some of his lectures on the subject being widely read in many countries. He was considered a master of vigorous Anglo-Saxon English, his use of monosyllabic words being extraordinary. His style was, however, often far from good, his sentences being frequently long, parenthetic, and sadly lacking in simplicity. This defect he probably owed to Carlyle, whom he considered the greatest of English thought-masters. His position on the subject of war was a curious one, and we hope to discuss it more at length hereafter. On the whole, whatever may have been his theoretical views, he was strongly opposed to war as it is carried on among modern peoples in the spirit of ambition and sordid commercialism. No more striking passage is found in the whole range of anti-war literature than that regarding woman's power of promoting peace, which is found at the close of the lecture on war, in the "Crown of Wild Olive." Some sentences from this we have given on the front page of this issue.

Philippine Secrets.

The campaign in the Philippines still goes on doing its deadly, un-Christian work. Nearly every day brings reports of engagements in which "large numbers" of natives are killed and "one" or "two" Americans. The Filipinos are no longer gathered in large bodies, but in small bands in many places, it seeming to be their plan in this way to prolong hostilities till the rainy season again sets

in. General Otis sends word every few days that the "insurrection" is about over, that the war will shortly end, but somehow there is enough fighting and chasing natives to keep sixty-five thousand soldiers in the islands. At Washington debating on the subject still continues. Nothing new is produced, but something has to be said by the imperialists to save appearances. Senator Hoar has never done any finer work than in his brief reply in the Senate to the brilliant, bare-faced sordidness of Senator Beveridge's eloquent plea for "keepin' foriver the Phillepeens," unless it was in his letter to the press in reply to Mr. Quigg's charge that he wanted the country to "skulk from its duty." An effort has been made by senators to get the whole Philippine correspondence, especially that between the President and the Paris Peace Commission. But after a great show of readiness on the part of Administration senators and much talk of "boomerangs," Senator Davis and others who knew the secrets concluded it was wisest for the honor and safety of the country to shunt the whole matter. And this was done. This covering up of the secrets of the negotiations, even from senators who are a part of the treaty-making power, does not look well. The people also, who are the real rulers of this country, have a right to know the facts in a case involving such momentous interests as are involved in the Philippine question. But it seems that neither people nor senators are to be permitted to know the secrets of the "wisdom and knowledge" of those who profess to be leading the country gloriously in the ways of Providence! Ring and boss rule has already done infinite mischief in city, state and nation, but the worst is yet to come, if the nation is to be led squarely away from its foundation principles by those at its head, and nobody but themselves considered fit to know the reasons why.

South Africa.

The sad struggle in South Africa shows no symptoms of abating. The month has been one of siege and death and painful anxiety and sorrow. After the defeat of the attempt of the Boers to take Ladysmith by assault, several days of inactivity on both sides passed. In the south and southwest the armies are still facing each other with no decided move on either side. The sieges of Mafeking and Kimberly continue, though at this writing there is a report that the former has been relieved. There has been a movement from the north by a small body of British for the relief of the place, and this report may prove true, though it is quite as likely, judging from previous reports, that the place has been "relieved" by the Boers. The chief center of activity has been on the Tugela river. After many days of waiting, preparation and reinforcement, General Buller moved a considerable part of his forces west, up and across the river. The reports of the movements and fighting have been meager. The British seem to have met with stubborn resistance, and after several days of fighting had gained but little ground. At last in the endeavor to force a passage to Ladysmith, a night assault was made by General Warren's division on Spion's Kop, which was thought to be the key to the Boer position. This assault was at first successful, but the position was retaken and the English forced to retreat. There are many rumors afloat, and the general impression seems to be that General Buller has been again defeated and may be forced to recross the Tugela. The losses on both sides have evidently been heavy, though exact figures are not available. English reinforcements continue to arrive at Cape Town, and others are on the way. The Boers appear to be in strong force at all the points of attack, and no guess can be made as to the time of continuance of the war. Not much has been heard of Lord Roberts and General Kitchener since their arrival at Cape Town. Rumors are abundant of disagreements and jealousies in the British war office. The British public is in a state of gloomy foreboding, and there is serious talk of calling out at once the whole volunteer force and putting the fleet immediately on a war footing. The situation may be described as one of terrors by night and death and pestilence at noonday.

Condemned by Ian Maclaren.

Among the distinguished men in England who have openly arraigned the government for the war in South Africa is Dr. John Watson, so well known throughout the English-speaking world for his high character, impartial spirit and sound judgment. In a recent sermon on the war in South Africa he spoke as follows:

"What is certain is that the immediate occasion of this disastrous war was the desire of a pastoral people to retain the control of their own country, and the determination of a handful of mine-owning millionaires to seize it for their own ends. They were not themselves brave enough to fight, and now they are not generous enough to give, being as mean now as they were cowardly before; but they were cunning enough to induce a gang of criminal adventurers to make that raid for which we are all now paying, in sorrow or in blood, and in the end to set by the ears our great empire and this little nation of country folk. Who have been so eager for war as the baser herd of gamblers on our stock exchange, who are the disgrace of an honorable business? Who were so ready yesterday to sing patriotic songs and drink patriotic toasts, and who but they have had the heart to play upon the feelings of the nation in their most sensitive hours by lying rumors of victory, so that whether we laugh or weep those brigands may reap their ill-gotten gain, won at the expense of men's blood and a nation's regret?"

The motives here assigned by Dr. Watson are certain to be set down by history as the real cause of the war. There are undoubtedly multitudes of English people who justify the war on other and higher grounds. It is not probable, either, that the Salisbury government as a whole deliberately went into the war from such motives. But their crime is that they allowed themselves to be hooked in the nose and led away by Mr. Chamberlain and the South African Ring. At least that is the opinion of a great number of the truest men in England, who are very close to Downing Street, and from whom the real secrets of the situation are not and have not been kept hidden. How bitterly the sin is already being paid for!

Boer Character.

There has been a persistent effort, ever since hostilities broke out in South Africa, to reduce the character of the Boers to the blackest and most barbarous type. That has been one of the chief arguments by which the British have been kept in patriotic and fighting mood. It is always so in war, each side holding the other in the lowest disrepute. Here is what an English prisoner, a lieutenant of the Royal Irish Fusileers, writes to his father of the treatment received by himself and his fellow-prisoners at Pretoria:

"We were all taken prisoners, together with the Gloucester Regiment and a battery of mountain artillery, which accounts for us being in Pretoria so soon. While we were in their laager they treated us extremely well and gave us food and tobacco. All you read about the Boers in England is absolutely untrue. They are most kind to the wounded and prisoners, looking after them as well as their own wounded, and anything they've got they will give you if you ask them, even if they deprive themselves. We came up to Pretoria in first-class sleeping carriages, and the way they treated us was most considerate, feeding us and giving us coffee every time we stopped. The day we arrived we took up quarters on the race course, but we have been moved into a fine brick building, with baths, electric light, etc. They provide us with everything, from clothes down to tooth brushes. They also feed us, and we are constantly getting presents of vegetables and cigars from private people. In fact, we can have everything we like except our liberty."

Secretary's Work.

Secretary Trueblood will spend the month of February in a course of lectures in the South, under the auspices of the Alkahest Lecture Lyceum of Atlanta, Ga. The course began on January 30 at Henderson, Ky., and will take in cities in Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia and South Carolina. The subjects of the lectures will be "The Hague Conference; or the New Internationalism," "Modern Militarism; or the Colossal Crime of Europe," "The Federation of the World," and possibly other kindred topics.

Brevities.

. . . The *Anglo-Russian* says that "the Transvaal War affects not English and Boer alone. It has called to life again the spectre of aggressive militarism all over the world, after the recent seemingly mortal blow given to it at the Hague Peace Conference. The God of War has again been firmly fixed on his pedestal upon which he was seriously shaken but a few months ago. Therein lies the grave significance of the present South African calamity for the world at large."

. . . Mr. Walter S. Logan, a prominent member of the New York bar, maintains that every child born of Filipino parents since the treaty of Paris was ratified is a citizen of the United States, and can maintain his right to the franchise before the United States Supreme Court on coming of age.

. . . The eighteenth conference of the International Law Association, held at Buffalo Aug. 31 to Sept. 2, 1899, was one of the most noteworthy in the history of the Association. The proceedings of the conference have been published at the office, 33 Chancery Lane, London, W. C. The report fills three hundred and fifty pages, and contains all the addresses and discussions. The price is three shillings and sixpence.

. . . A bill is before Congress, expected to become law in a short time, giving Porto Rico a suitable civil government and free trade with the United States.

. . . The Peace Committee of the Society of Friends of New England, representing the membership for the six New England States, has sent an address to President McKinley suggesting mediation by the United States at the earliest opportune moment, with the view of bringing to a speedy end the deplorable war in South Africa.

. . . "We are now friends with England and with all mankind. May we never see another war, for in my opinion there never was a good war or a bad peace."—*Benjamin Franklin in 1783.*

. . . "The fight in the next twenty-five years will be between militarism and the Church of Jesus Christ, and we might as well be preparing for it."—*Dr. George C. Lorimer.*

. . . "I for one would fain join the cadence of hammer-strokes that shall beat swords into ploughshares."—*John Ruskin.*

. . . The Dutch Peace Society has just published its twenty-seventh year-book, a valuable document of more than one hundred pages.

. . . The Society for International Study and Correspondence, founded in 1895, now has eighteen hundred members. It has committees in more than thirty European cities, and members in many parts of the world. The purpose of the Society, whose seat is at Paris, 77 rue Denfert-Rochereau, is to promote the "communion of peoples" through correspondence and the study of international questions.

. . . The International Peace Bureau at Berne, which acts in the name of the peace societies of the world, has sent an urgent request to President McKinley asking that the United States government offer to mediate in order to put an end to the Transvaal War.

. . . The Christian Endeavor petition with 17,844 signatures has been presented to Congress by Senator Hoar. About half the signers were voters. Thirty-seven states were represented, besides Canada and some foreign countries.

. . . On Washington's birthday in 1815, there was a great celebration in Boston of the treaty of peace then just concluded with Great Britain. There were sunrise artillery salutes, solemn services in King's Chapel participated in by all the state officials, hymns were sung, odes recited, a grand civic parade took place with many banners borne on horseback, a grand dinner was served at the Exchange Coffee House, at which thirteen toasts were given, the first of which was as follows:

. . . Welcome Peace! brought by a favorite conveyance to our shores. May the afflictions of the last seven years be considered as the transit of a baleful meteor, and remembered only to increase the joy with which all hearts and voices now unite to welcome Peace.

. . . On the battlefield of Franklin, Tenn., where one of the most furious battles of the Civil War was fought, has been erected an institution of learning called Battle College. The editor of the *Ellis Country* (Texas) *Mirror* hopes "that in educating its pupils into a better feeling of national fraternity, it will also teach them the uselessness of all wars, and the desirability of avoiding them in the future."

. . . "The worst work a man can put himself to in this world is shooting men.—*Andrew Carnegie.*"

. . . These lines were written by Burns on a pane of glass on the occasion of a British national thanksgiving for a naval victory:

> Ye hypocrites! Are these your pranks;
> To murder men and gie God thanks?
> For shame gie ower, proceed no further—
> God won't accept your thanks for murder.

. . . A very remarkable sermon entitled, "A Plea for the Peace Lover and the Peacemaker in an Era of War and Strife" was preached on the 21st ult. in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, by Dr. Hillis, the successor of Dr. Lyman Abbott. The sermon is copyrighted by the Fleming H. Revell Co., New York.

. . . An earnest effort was made in December in France to secure the observance of Peace Sunday among the Protestant churches, and with most encouraging results.

. . . The difficulty between France and San Domingo has been satisfactorily settled, the latter agreeing to pay the indemnity demanded and the government undertaking to make a public declaration that no affront was intended for France.

. . . In an article on Christianity and warfare, the *Saturday Evening Post*, in a recent issue, says that "during this century the Christian nations have done most of the fighting in the world, and the worst of it has been among themselves."

. . . The President has created a new military department consisting of the territory of Alaska.

. . . The first agent of the American Bible Society arrived in Manila on the 26th of November last. He found that the whiskey agents had already captured the town. He says, "it is hard to find a respectable place to stop in the city, so many are the adventurers and whiskey people." He is very optimistic as to the work of the Bible Society, and says that the missionaries are sure to have great success.

. . . With an army of 100,000 men in actual service, the expenses of the war department for the current year will be about $200,000,000.

. . . While England is spending her treasure at the rate of ten millions a week in trying to crush the South African Republic, one of the worst famines which India has known is raging. Lord Curzon, the viceroy, announces that the famine surpasses the worst fears, and that India must for the most part "struggle on alone, for the thoughts of every Englishman in the world are centered on South Africa." A great sin of commission is always accompanied by one or more of omission.

. . . During the last four months of 1899 the American forces in the Philippines lost 361 killed, 200 died of wounds and accidents, and 762 died of disease; that is, an entire regiment in four months.

. . . "Let it not be said that I am alone in my condemnation of this war. And even if I were alone, if mine were a solitary voice raised amid the din of arms and the clamors of a venal press, I should have the consolation I have to-night,—and which I trust will be mine to the last moment of my existence,—the priceless consolation that no word of mine has tended to promote the squandering of my country's treasure or the spilling of one drop of my country's blood."—*John Bright in 1854.*

. . . The *Topeka Daily Capital* has been placed by its owners in the hands of Rev. Charles M. Sheldon for one week beginning March 13, that he may try the experiment of making a Christian newspaper. It strikes us that, however noble the experiment, it will be about as difficult to make a successful Christian daily in a week's time as it would be to try to make a successful Christian life in the same period. We hope the week may extend itself into months and years.

. . . Count Tolstoy has denounced the war in South Africa as showing "the sordid and soulless commercialism that rules the world." He says it is "incomprehensible to him that England, boasting herself to be the land of freedom, should wish to crush out small republics which have never done her the slightest injury."

. . . Mrs. May Wright Sewall of Indianapolis, president of the International Council of Women, and one of the vice-presidents of the American Peace Society, has been appointed by President McKinley as a delegate to the congresses of the Paris Exposition. She is one of the two American women to be so honored, the other woman delegate being Mrs. Rebecca Lowe of Atlanta, Ga., president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

Enthroned Self-sacrifice.

BY REV. WILBUR F. CRAFTS, PH. D.

Behold the crimsoned Lamb of God,
On the throne, slain to reign;
The kingdom of this world at last
Is His own, won with pain.
The holy city cometh down,
Where greed is banished by His frown,
And service is life's highest crown;
Gain is loss, loss is gain.

The devil's way of force He spurned
For the way of the cross;
Not mailed but nailed the hands he turned
To the world, on the cross:
Avengers stand before the gate
At all the palaces of hate,
But gentleness hath made Thee great
On Thy throne of the cross.

Behold thy King that meekly comes,
Lord of law, Lord of love,
No soldier shouts, no flare of drums,
Sign of peace, behold the dove.
The earth, the blessing of the meek,
Is thine, O Champion of the weak;
Thy righteousness and peace we seek,
Done on earth, as above.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan., 1900.

England and the Boers.

BY JOHN COLLINS.

A stain is on thy diadem
And on thy brow a scar,
As history tells thy deeds of crime
In peaceful Afric climes afar.

The greed of gold and foreign lands
May soon allure thee to thy fate,
Till coming years forewarn thy doom,
And leave thee sad and desolate.

The brand of infamy attends
Contention with a weaker foe,—
And nations stand in mute suspense,
Or watch, in fear, the final blow.

What can restore thy tarnished name
Dipped in a murdered nation's gore?
Who thy supremacy proclaim,
Save only in unrighteous war?

Distrust and hatred of a race
Subjected to unwise control,
Thy bloody triumph shall disgrace,
Long as successive ages roll.

No longer boast thy Christian power
O'er nations underneath thy sway,
Nor send thy sons, as heretofore,
To teach idolaters to pray.

Return, O England! to the Lord,
Whose word was never yet in vain,
"The people that uplift the sword
Shall perish on the battle-plain."

Return! ere yet it be too late,
While mercy may avert the blow,
Or punishment thy course await,
And thou almighty vengeance know.

Rise in thy might, and bid the sword
Forever sheathed, defiance cease,
Till war becomes a crime abhorred,
And earth be blessed with endless peace.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

The Military Class Doomed by Commerce.

BY EDWARD ATKINSON.

The ghastly horrors which are being disclosed week by week in the war in the Transvaal may rightly be dealt with from the point of view of the political economist, without regard to any personal sympathy with either side.

Ever since the democratic invention of gunpowder made the common man-at-arms more than a match for the mounted knight clad in armor, a contest has been going on between those who represent the trade of making and selling killing implements for purely commercial purposes and the military profession which directs their use. Can any one recall any important invention in making rifles, artillery, explosives, marine engines or in naval construction which originated with a military or a naval officer? Here and there some minor inventions may be named, like the disappearing gun carriage, but substantially all the great applications of science and invention to weapons of war have been made by civilians, and have been developed as commercial enterprises which are conducted for the profits of the trade, with little or no help from the members of the military class, but often subject to much opposition from them.

During the last hundred years, especially since the Franco-Prussian War, the greatest revolution has been made since the invention of gunpowder. The military and naval classes of each state or nation have been forced against their will to adjust their whole system of tactics and of warfare to the necessity of meeting these new inventions, and have been forced to adopt many of them at excessive cost, so as to get the advantage over other states which might not be able to do so.

INVENTORS OF WEAPONS CIVILIANS.

In support of this view one may name a few of the great inventors of weapons of war: Whitney, Krupp, Walmsley, Armstrong, Maxim, Gatling, Nordenfeldt, Ericson and many others—all civilians, who have never wasted their time in the application or use of their own inventions, but have been induced to expend their abilities on this destructive line by the demand for instruments of carnage. Had not this demand existed, their abilities might have been applied to constructive and useful purposes. Indirectly, many of their inventions have had a useful purpose, especially in naval engineering and architecture.

The final surrender of the military caste to the tradesman may have been witnessed within the present month, in the order said to have been given to the officers of the British army to keep their swords out of sight. The private sharpshooter, whose gun will kill at two thousand

yards and has an effective range in the hands of a dead shot beyond the point where the discharge of the gun can be either seen or heard, has become more than a match for the member of the military caste who carries the sword. The tradesman has served him well; hence the great number of officers killed or wounded in the war with the Boers, fully sustaining the prediction made by Bloch on that point in his treatment of "The Future of War." This slaughter causes great misery, and when one views the portraits of the fine, manly-looking fellows published weekly in the London illustrated papers who have been killed, it seems pitiful that such men could not have found a better occupation or one more serviceable to humanity.

Another prediction of Bloch may, perhaps, be justified, but the facts are not yet sufficiently known to be certain about it. The leaders in the British army, having had no modern experience in war with their equals, still seem to adhere to the old tactics, and are apparently throwing away their forces by charging fortified positions on which modern guns and other modern weapons have been arrayed against them. The number killed in these attacks does not seem to be very great, but the reason may be that when it becomes plain, even to the generals of the British army, that a direct assault on a well fortified position cannot be persisted in without the slaughter of nearly the whole force, the order to retire is given in time to save most of the men.

NEW METHODS OF WAR NECESSARY.

The manly method of war, face to face and man to man, has been suppressed by the tradesman. As yet the Boers have shown very great skill in ambushing, misleading and striking in the back. Doubtless, the British may and must ultimately succeed in suppressing the resistance of the Boers merely by force of numbers, and by painfully learning how to outflank them and to strike them in the back. May it not be held that this small war may save humanity from the great disaster of a general European war, by proving the almost necessary exhaustion of both sides where the numbers are fairly matched on the field? The Boers will be ultimately more than matched in numbers, and may then be exterminated unless they yield, but the cost to Great Britain will be fearful.

As yet there has been no contest between modern armored ships which would suffice to determine the possibility of a great naval battle between equals. Little was to be learned in the contest between Japan and China. The great victories of the American fleet over the Spanish have been simply examples of the superior commercial product of our guns and ships, and the superior capacity of our naval officers to operate machinery, against either poorer or weaker examples under the charge of the incapable Spanish managers of the mechanism.

SUBMARINE BOAT DEFENSE.

It is to be hoped and believed that the submarine boat is so near completion as to render armored battleships of no offensive force off any harbors. The submarine boat, when perfected, will put any battleship which may appear off any harbor into a condition of "innocuous desuetude" at the bottom of the sea, harming no one except those who could not find a more useful occupation than the naval service.

Does it not begin to appear that the commercial and trading classes, whose interests are in peace, order and industry (with the exception of the relatively small number engaged in the manufacture of arms), have, by their application of science and invention, rendered the future conduct of warfare so ghastly and so inconclusive as to bring its end within sight? If such are the facts, the lesson of the Transvaal, costly as it must be to Great Britain, may be of great benefit to all nations.

Our absurd contest for the suppression of liberty in the Philippine Islands, under the pretext of promoting commerce, will also justify the modern English axiom, "If you scratch a jingo, you find a pirate"; not wholly true here, because most of our jingoes work the pirate by deputy, maintaining a personally safe position themselves.

TOTAL SUPPRESSION OF MILITARY CASTE.

We may, therefore, hope for increasing success on the part of the manufacturers and tradesmen who are engaged in making and selling high explosives, long-distance guns and submarine boats, and we may look for their speedy success in totally suppressing the military caste. When it is well assured that, by becoming an officer in active service, a man commits suicide, or is sure of being disabled, the modern art of war will be pretty sure to become ignoble. Without officers, very few soldiers will ever fight; conscripts probably never. Even when American soldiers are placed in a dangerous position, through the lack of capacity of their leaders, as in the attack upon San Juan hill in the Santiago campaign, they may still fight by squads and gain a victory, but this exception only strengthens the rule. No such method could result in a victory in any large array of men or in any considerable encounter of large armies. If officers are disabled, the army becomes a mere mob; therefore, in any great war the quicker the troops are deprived of officers, the less number of privates will be sacrificed.

NEW WEAPONS AND SHIPS SPEEDILY USELESS.

Again, it is stated that about half the ships of war, even in the British navy, including all that are more than ten years old, are no longer of any effective force, except, possibly, when anchored for harbor defense. It is also stated that nearly the whole artillery of continental armies is out of date and must be replaced, in order that each state may meet the commercial enterprise of the private gunmakers, who stand ready to supply better guns. This is also true of the new explosives, of which the effect is not yet much known.

In the discussion of these points with a naval friend, I have been asked if I had not underrated the construction work of our own naval officers. The exception is well taken, but it must be remembered that we had a lesson in the Civil War which European nations do not yet appear to have learned.

The monitor was the invention of a civilian, and was constructed by civilians against the judgment of the navy department. That invention made a complete revolution in naval construction, which our naval officers have been quick to learn. It was, I believe, taken up by the Lairds in England, who were civilians, in their effort to supply the Confederates with war vessels, before its

adoption in the British navy. One English naval officer attempted to improve on the original type of the monitor, Capt. Cowper Cowles, but I believe his ship tipped over, carrying him down when it sank.

BATTLESHIPS BUILT IN PRIVATE YARDS.

Nearly all the great battleships of recent years, including all our own, have been constructed in private yards. The marine engine of high power was first developed in the Maudsleys' English works. Yet an exception should be made in regard to our construction of great guns by the navy department in a machine shop in Washington, which is wholly under the control of naval officers, and is a model of efficiency and of the application of the highest technical skill. This proves that our naval service may be taken as a model of what might be accomplished in the civil service, when that is as well organized on the basis of merit and capacity. This shop also proves how much ability there is in the naval service, which might be directed to constructive and useful purposes whenever, if ever, science and invention put a stop to naval warfare.

Many inventions in the art of killing have originated in this country, yet little attention has been given by us to one of the most effective inventions ever made in the military service. I do not know who invented the army sausage of Germany; probably a chemist and a pork butcher. Many economic students of the Franco-Prussian War attribute the crushing success of the Germans more to the army sausage than to the German rifles. Without this commercial product, the great and rapid concentration of the German troops, which enabled them to surround the French at Sedan, would have been impossible. Our only substitute for the army sausage was canned roast beef, which has not served so well.

It is noticeable that the names of inventors and makers of modern arms are not conspicuous in connection with their use. I doubt if any great inventor has ever taken service in the army or navy. Such men are content to do the commercial part, but they are altogether too sagacious to direct an *experimentum in corpore vili* in actual warfare.

BURDEN OF A GREAT WAR.

It is said that Bloch's great work on "The Future of War" gave the government of Russia the incentive to call the Peace Conference at The Hague, which the present humane emperor was so ready to support. The reader of the English epitome of this book, from the point of view of an economic student, cannot fail to be impressed with its treatment of the inability of Russia to bear the burden of any great war without an almost complete stop being put to industrial progress, which is now the most marked feature of that great empire.

It may be held that the demand of the military states of Europe, which has become a great armed camp, has induced the supply of these modern instruments of carnage, and that this demand may cease when the force of science and invention may be turned in another direction, so that progress in the fine art of killing may stop. We have not yet reached that civilized point of a cessation of this demand. Until it comes, we may hope for and expect yet more effective weapons, until their very efficiency forbids their use. Such a conclusion has often been foretold, and it is commonly held to be a very visionary notion; yet the great progress of invention since the end of our Civil War, yet more since the Franco-Prussian War, may have brought the suppression of war, through the force of commerce, within the scope of practical men.

WHEN BAYONETS THINK.

The dynamite of education is also pervading the continental armies of Europe. When the privates all carry thinking bayonets, they may, perhaps, join with the forces of commerce in suppressing the military classes by whom they are now dominated. Socialism is the foil of militarism, rapidly spreading throughout Europe. It may happen that the thinking bayonet will suppress the military caste by force, if necessary, as the man who carried the gun suppressed the mail-clad knight of the feudal ages. The last survival of feudalism may, perhaps, be found in the German Junker, of whom Bismarck was the great example, unifying Germany under the rule of "blood and iron," perhaps thus preparing, unwittingly, for the freedom of the German people, when they become aware of their rights and of their power to apply their iron to commerce and industry, and to limit the blood-letting to the military caste, if it resists suppression. —*From the Boston Herald.*

The Commercial Traveler.

BY JOHANNES H. WISBY.

From an editorial with the above title in the weekly Danish literary journal "Nordlyset."

There is no longer any room for doubting that we are indebted principally to the commercial traveler for the popular protective demand for the preservation of international peace and the fusing together of the economic interests of the nations, which has metamorphosed the world from a place of warfare into a market for the products of the earth. Already, from our present point of view, the nineteenth century resembles little more than a world of fortifications bristling with cannon and warlike preparations; we think of the nations of the past as standing behind the ramparts, watching each other like hawks, ready to touch off their artillery. To undertake a journey through Europe in those days was a formidable piece of work, an undertaking fraught with no little amount of danger, and if you were successful in overcoming the various obstacles which the governments laid in your way, you were likely to finally reach home sharing the feeling of a military spy who has slipped away from hostile pickets. Nowadays it is a pleasure to travel about the world, a luxury within the reach of the plain citizen, and the nations have been brought as close together as townships in a state. There is no longer any real enmity between the peoples; it only exists between the various governments, which are mostly conducting their affairs in accordance with mediæval military principles. Whenever Germans and Frenchmen meet, hat in hand, and talk over a salable assortment of samples they get along in fine shape, and a trade is generally made; only when their criminal governments press them into the soldier's uniform and order them to shoot each other a pardonable degree of mutual ill-feeling is caused. Here in the United States we are afforded a striking proof of the fact that the various nations of the world—

peoples which in Europe and Asia are threatening each other with cries for revenge — can be induced to work together side by side in peace and union of interests when placed beyond the range of their warlike rulers.

Who but the mercantile traveler is to be credited with the advent of this joyful change in human sentiment? Has he not furnished the basis, in the shape of a peaceful international business interchange, on which the arts and the sciences have reared the civilization and culture of our time? All the art and science in the world, all the accumulated stores of wisdom and collected experience of the ages, could never have accomplished this work, and without the fructifying medium of trade mankind would never have made a forward stride of progress. Only the inborn human desire for peaceful and lucrative exchange of products, only the strong pinions of international commerce, were capable of carrying primeval man into the broad daylight of the present. It was not our great men of science or learning who were chosen to perform this perhaps the greatest of the undertakings of our century, but it was such totally unknown fellows as James This, Piérre That and Fritz, Juan, Dimitri, Jonathan, or whatever names we may select to represent the great trading nations. In other words, it was a rôle so complex and so manifold in all its vast importance that Providence seems to have been unwilling to trust any one individual or any one nation with the task of carrying it out, and therefore it was parceled out in the shape of practical problems and enterprises for the millions of mercantile travelers, who have civilized the present century. They have altered the world from being formerly an international scene of warfare and a pleasure park for the privileged classes, into a really habitable earth for people of all classes to live on under conditions which are gradually being improved and more equally distributed with each generation. That the standing armies and the practical manifestations of militarism have strongly increased together with the development of mercantile interests is as nothing compared with the fact that the armies of to-day in reality only exist as a safeguard for the national trade interests, the mercantile instinct of self-preservation and protection. When the great powers endeavor to extend their domains in Asia and Africa, it is more for the purpose of acquiring new markets for their export trade than from a desire for conquest. The political business, which we still persist in misnaming "international diplomacy," is getting to partake refreshingly of the nature of the commercial policy of the nations, especially when we compare it with the sort of diplomacy that was the pride of the eighteenth century. We now confer "diplomatically" about tariffs and trade treaties, customs reciprocity, postal laws, treaties of export and import trade, etc. Briefly we urge "diplomatically" a number of international questions, which almost invariably take final shape as questions of trade, no matter in what disguise they may be brought upon the stage of diplomacy.

During the International Commercial Congress in Philadelphia we were afforded the most conclusive and radical proof that the predominating mercantile tendency of our time is not only a matter of figures and statistics, but, moreover, a matter of awakened conscience with the nations of the earth.

To be a traveling salesman has never been considered a very great honor, and why? No doubt because the honor of civilizing the nations was parceled out by Providence among the travelers in such a multiplicity of "job lots" that no single man has been able to monopolize the honor. The farmer and the manufacturer do not bother their heads much about these things, the consumers still less, perhaps; these people only occupy themselves with supplying and shaping and marketing the products for which the traveler creates a demand. The traveler himself can hardly be said to understand his true position as a social factor. He does not stop to consider that were it not for his sensible, courteous, confiding manner of doing business, the nations would not have drawn as close together as they now are, nor would the international bonds of friendship exist which now preserve the peace essential to progress.

Whether our friend, the traveler, introduces fly paper into Palestine, wind mills into the Argentine, machinery into China, or whether he exports agricultural products and machines to distant regions in South America, or promotes the establishment of railroads or manufactures in India and Japan, or whether he capitalizes wool spinning mills in Persia or tea plantation syndicates in Paraguay, he remains the same indefatigable pioneer and pathfinder of civilization, the entering wedge of international commerce, providing and maintaining the impregnable, economic basis, which supports that palace of the arts and the sciences, and the supreme human spirit, known as culture.

Christian Heroism in South Africa.

J. W. Leeds writes thus to the Philadelphia *Public Ledger:*

"When Lord Roberts left London the other day for the seat of war in South Africa, the parting refrain of the Prince of Wales and the others of the distinguished group assembled at the railway station was, 'Good luck to you!' Now, it is not with words such as these that the missionaries of the Cross or any who leave their native shores under the Lord's directing hand are wont to part with their fellows. It is not good luck, but God's love, that is the lodestar of their long journey.

"When David Moffatt, the Scotch stripling from Fifeshire, along the Firth of Forth, left his native heath, upwards of eighty years ago, for the Cape of Good Hope, and, pushing northward over mountain and veldt beyond the Orange river into Great Namaqualand, went straight to the kraal of the dreaded murderer and marauder, Afrikaner, he showed a degree of intrepidity that not a man of the historic Gordon Highlanders or of the Black Watch, so eloquently descanted upon of late by the *Ledger's* contributor, M. E. L. A., could have excelled. And what a trophy was here! 'Wolfish rapacity, leonine ferocity, leopardish treachery,' we are told, 'gave way before the meekness and mildness of the lamb or kid.' So that when Moffatt's life hung in the balance with African fever, the theretofore cruel Namaqua chieftain nursed him most tenderly through the crisis of delirium. When he was obliged to visit Cape Town, Afrikaner went with him, knowing that a price had been set for years upon his own head as an outlaw and a public

enemy. 'No marvel,' to quote from a graphic account of the incident, 'that when he made his appearance in Cape Colony the people were astonished at the transformation. It was more wonderful than when Saul, the archpersecutor, was suddenly transformed into Paul the apostle. The whole road, a distance of six hundred miles, lay through a country which had been laid waste by this robber chief and his retainers. The Dutch farmers could not believe that this converted man was actually Afrikaner, and one of them lifted his hands when he saw him and exclaimed: 'This is the eighth miracle of the world! Great God, what a miracle of thy power and grace!' There was no drawing back from the ranks of the Master with whom he had enlisted to serve, and it is recorded as a curious coincidence that the reward of £100 which had once been offered for his head as an outlaw was eventually laid out by the government in offerings of goodwill to be bestowed upon himself. But Moffatt went eastward into the land of the Bechuanas, and at Kuruman (the same Kuruman that to-day's paper relates has been the scene of bloody conflict between Briton and Boer) labored forty years to bring the benighted natives to a knowledge of our civilization and the religion of the Prince of Peace."

Professional Militarism.

BY PROFESSOR HAMON.

One of the secondary causes of war is militarism. In order to have wars, there must be professional soldiers. Whenever and wherever professional military men exist, war must necessarily exist too. The effect reacts on the primary cause, and becomes itself a cause. Militarism engenders war because professional military men desire it most ardently to take place. They want it, and stand in need of it. There is a general saying that the soldier, the professional military man, takes up soldiering from love of his country. This notion is a very false one. The military profession is a trade — a calling, followed like any other. It is followed, like all trades or employments, simply and solely for individual ends, in a purely selfish interest, that of the individual engaged in it. The military profession brings to those who follow it certain drawbacks and certain advantages, as is the case in all professions. Every professional military man becomes a soldier, not from patriotism or love of his country, but simply in order that he may succeed in the career that he has embraced, and acquire riches, honor and glory; in a word, from personal interests. The end in view is the same to all men — for the scientist, the literary man, grocer, engineer, merchant, or soldier. The only difference consists in the means adopted for arriving at this same end. They vary according to the calling. The end sought after by each professional soldier is simply the material benefit of the individual. The private correspondence of officers allows this to be, more or less, clearly seen. We have brought up thousands of examples of this in our works, and it would be easy to find numerous others to quote from, by pursuing our researches amongst letters, books and memoirs. Besides, is it not the custom in England to give very large rewards to victorious generals? and did not Napoleon I. follow the same custom?

Listen to the comments made by young English officers to-day. What makes them so keen to go to South Africa? What makes those left behind so sad? Is it not the desire for promotion, to which active service leads quickly? All this shows clearly that it is mainly solicitude for the advancement and success of purely individual and selfish interest that inspires the professional soldier in the exercise of his duty, and not any care for the glory and greatness of his country. In form of analysis one falls back still on economic causes, and it may well be that, if one analyzed still further, one would find, simply and purely, physiological causes. Man, in fact, acts so as to procure the satisfaction of his wants, and these wants are the effects of his organs. In this century militarism has perfected its organization; it has got hold of a greater number of individuals than before, and, on this head, it seems to have developed greatly. Every phenomenon acts on the individuals who undergo it or are conscious of it or have knowledge of it, and this action is all the greater to each individual the more this phenomenon is repeated, the greater the number of human beings it acts upon. It therefore follows that the military profession influences those who follow it, either temporarily or permanently. This influence produces in those who follow a military calling permanently — that is to say, in military professionals — moral and intellectual effects peculiar to, and specific of, this calling. The professional soldier is affected with a state of moral anæstheticism and of profound infatuation; his morality is defaced, and analogous in many points to that of savages. Passive obedience destroys his individuality, breaks it down, and turns him into a mere automaton. He is servile to his superiors and, by a natural reaction, arrogant to his subordinates. The army is the school of crime.— *From the Humanitarian (London).*

Lincoln's Criticism of the Mexican War.

In a recent speech in the House of Representatives, Congressman Ball of Texas cited the following passage from a speech by Abraham Lincoln in Congress in criticism of the war with Mexico, as an answer to those who persist in calling all opponents of President McKinley's Philippine proceedings "traitors":

"Mr. Chairman, some, if not all, of the gentlemen on the other side of the House, who have addressed the committee within the last two days, have spoken complainingly of the vote given a week or ten days ago, declaring that the war with Mexico was unnecessary and unconstitutionally commenced by the president. I admit that such a vote should not be given in mere party wantonness, and is justly censurable if it have no other or better foundation.

"Now, sir, for the purpose of obtaining the very best evidence as to whether Texas had actually carried her revolution to the place where the hostilities of the present war commenced, let the president answer. The interrogatories I proposed, or some other similar ones, let him answer fully, fairly and candidly. Let him answer with facts, and not with argument. Let him remember he sits where Washington sat; and so remembering, let him answer as Washington would answer.

As a nation should not, and the Almighty will not, be evaded, so let him attempt no evasion, no equivocation. And if, so answering, he can show that the soil was ours where the first blood of the war was shed, that it was not within an inhabited country, or, if within such, the inhabitants had submitted themselves to the civil authority of Texas, or of the United States, and that the same is true of the site of Fort Brown, then I am with him for his justification. I have a selfish motive for desiring that the president may do this. I expect to give some votes, which, in connection with this war, without his so doing, will be of doubtful propriety in my own judgment, but which will be free from the doubt if he does so. But if he cannot or will not do this, if on any pretense, or no pretense, he shall refuse or omit it, then I shall be fully convinced of what I more than suspect already, that he is deeply conscious of being in the wrong; that he feels the blood of this war, like the blood of Abel, is crying to heaven against him; that he ordered General Taylor into the midst of a peaceful Mexican settlement, purposely to bring on a war; that, having some strong motive, which I will not stop now to give my opinion concerning, to involve the two countries in a war, and trusting to escape scrutiny by fixing the public gaze upon the exceeding brightness of military glory, that attractive rainbow that rises in showers of blood, that serpent's eye that charms to destroy, he plunged into it, and has swept on and on, till, disappointed in his calculations of the ease with which Mexico might be subdued, he now finds himself he knows not where. How like the insane mumbling of a fevered dream is the whole war part of the late message. . . . As I have said before, he knows not where he is. He is a bewildered, confounded and miserably perplexed man. God grant he may be able to show that there is not something about his conscience more painful than all his mental perplexities."

The Religious Imperialists.

The *Springfield Republican* has the following most pertinent comment on the criticism made by the *Independent*, the *Outlook* and other imperialist religious journals, on the sordid motives advanced by Senator Beveridge for retaining the Philippine Islands:

"Just why these good imperialists should jump upon the young Beveridge for planting expansion on commercial grounds is a puzzle. Perhaps they feel that if Wolcott of Colorado, with his New England training in right and justice and freedom, could be stirred to say that a forcible expansion based upon greed and glory would make the war 'a mercenary and dishonorable war, worthy of the middle ages,' they ought somehow to be stirred also to say nearly as much. We do not know as to that. But we do know that the other leading spokesmen for expansion and conquest heretofore have gone on urging the commercial profit of it as the great consideration, and the religious imperialists have not rebuked them. Why Beveridge? Why not also the President, who preached the doctrine that trade follows the flag in his earlier hold-the-Philippine speeches? Why not Peace Commissioner Frye, who has talked nothing else but trade in connection with this question? Why not Colonel Denby, who laughs at the idea of holding and shooting the Filipinos for any other purpose? Why not Peace Commissioner Reid, who told them on his return from Paris that we had expanded to the Asiatic shore for commercial and no other reasons? He boasted of having brought home 'more property' than some people wanted. The American commissioners, he said, 'neither neglected nor feared the duty of caring for the material interests of their own country—the duty of grasping the enormous possibilities upon which we have stumbled'; and 'are we to lose all this through a mushy sentimentality?' And it was not the 'mushy sentimentality' of religious opposition to his 'property' reasons for expansion that he referred to, for none such was then to be found in the imperialist religious press. It is only now, when Beveridge comes forward urging the same considerations for holding the Philippines, 'and holding them forever,' in a little more striking and eloquent manner, that the religious press begins to show signs of recognizing the sordid motives which control the rest of the imperialist crowd. Can it be that the conscience of the country, in the persons of its professional keepers, is becoming growingly uneasy respecting this bloody business?

"Mr. Wolcott's position is not much of an improvement over that of Beveridge, whom he warmly rebukes. He favors the prosecution of the war on unconditional-surrender lines. He would crush the protesting Filipinos before telling them what we are going to do with them. Here is a weak little fellow prostrate on the ground, who is commanded by a big fellow jumping on him to stop his squirming and submit to being bound hand and foot. The little fellow asks that he be told what fate then awaits him after giving up every puny power of resistance he possesses, and is informed that he must shut up and submit or be killed. The killing accordingly goes on, and Mr. Wolcott praises that attitude of the American government—the attitude of an unconscionable bully. But he has performed one notable service which should go far to hide this discreditable feature of his position. He has apparently, in his rebuke to Beveridge, shamed some of the religious supporters of the Philippine aggression into making a barely audible protest against the doctrine of justification of the killing of people for the commercial profit there may come out of it."

Horrors of War — Fighting Instincts Hereditary.

FROM THE RECOLLECTIONS OF E. L. GODKIN.

Late in the spring (1853) I went to Sebastopol and was there until the place was taken. Owing to the kindness of friends in the Piedmontese army, I was enabled to visit the Malakoff either the afternoon of its capture or the following morning, I now forget which, but the burying parties were just going to work. When we reached the top of the parapet, the Russians were still dropping shells from the other side of the harbor wherever they saw a group, so that we were obliged to walk singly. The sight which met our eyes within the fort was a horrid one. Ten thousand men, as I was afterwards told, both Russians and French, lay dead within an enclosure of two or three acres, the result of an hour or two of mutual stabbing and shooting. No one, not even the youngest, could avoid the reflection that prob-

ably but few of these unfortunates knew what the quarrel was about in which they had sacrificed their lives. This and the scenes in the trenches through which I passed that day gave me a disgust for war which, during the forty years that have since elapsed, I have never ceased to express whenever an opportunity offered.

The doctrine of the inheritance of qualities, which now plays so large a part in the discussions of modern publicists concerning the course of history, inevitably suggests that the fighting instinct which lies latent in the breasts of even the most civilized peoples must be a legacy from countless generations of remote ancestors, who, even after the dawn of consciousness, must have followed rapine and the murder of strangers as their daily occupation. It is in these things in reality that war consists, in spite of the efforts of the more civilized nations to disguise it by fine names, and to get God mixed up in it. The passion for it and the interest in it felt by even the more cultivated members of the human race could hardly be as strong as they still are had they not been infused into the blood by countless generations of savage forefathers. It is a most humiliating thought that man is the only animal that rejoices in the destruction of its fellows. The exterminating powers of all the others are spent on alien breeds. Some French author, I think one of the Le Maistres, has pictured to himself the possibility of twenty thousand cats doing what men do, meeting in a large plain, and one-half scratching and biting the other half to death. Should we caress the survivors as we do human heroes, and increase their allowance of cream? Within twenty years the results of the Crimean War were undone by Russia, without opposition from anybody. Everybody in England deplored it; Lord Salisbury has acknowledged that she "put her money on the wrong horse." But one hundred thousand men were resting in bloody graves, and £100,000,000 of money was added to the national debt. Such is the prescience of jingoes.

Give Peace.

BY MARIANNE FARNINGHAM.

In the hearts of men to-day
  Fear and dread are springing;
In the darkening path of gloom
  The war-flag is unfurled.
O to see the dove of peace
  Coming to the world!
O to have the hours of fear
  Stirred by angels' singing!

Among the bare and shivering trees
  The winds are sadly sighing,
While with relentless cruelty
  The chilling winter comes
Where wives and little children
  Suffer in cheerless homes,
And even in the bravest hearts
  Hope is slowly dying.

God let peace come in place of war,
  And each man know his brother!
If sunshine leave the world outside,
  It yet may find a rest,
And gladly through dark days abide
  In the love-lighted breast.
It is not winter in the heart
  When we love one another!

—*Christian Endeavor World.*

Appeal to President McKinley.

TO THE PRESIDENT: The Board of Directors of the American Peace Society solemnly and earnestly appeal to you to offer the good offices and mediation of the United States to Great Britain and the Transvaal.

We recall to you and we feel confident we may assure you that the whole civilized world has not forgotten that one of the most benign features of the scheme approved by all at The Hague Conference was that entitled Good Offices and Mediation.

Article 3 declares in words which the Conference and sound judgment of the world have heartily approved, "The signatory Powers deem it useful that one or more disinterested Powers should offer of their own accord to the disputing states, as far as circumstances permit, their good offices or mediation, either before or during hostilities; the exercise of this right shall never be regarded by either of the parties in dispute as an unfriendly act."

We believe that the public sentiment of the United States regards the South African War with abhorrence. The sympathies of some of our citizens may favor the British because they and we are so largely of one blood. Others may favor the Boers because they are fighting for their liberties with desperate valor. Every one must respect the courage on both sides. Almost every one must in his conscience condemn both sides for their rash entrance into war when patience and conciliation could have surely adjusted the dissension.

This country can mediate with absolute impartiality. We love both sides. We foresee the prolonged bitterness of hatred throughout all South Africa which must surely grow out of this passionate and bloody war. May we not believe that both sides have tasted blood enough to be ready to accept the honorable and friendly offer of mediation by a nation of such transcendent power and dignity as the United States?

We earnestly ask you to tender the good offices of this country, in the faith that perhaps they may be soon accepted; or even, if at first declined, the offer will before long be welcomed, and all the sooner because the whole world will hear of your action, and invoke upon it the blessings of the God of Peace.

On behalf of the Board (signed),

ROBERT TREAT PAINE, *President.*

BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD, *Secretary.*

BOSTON, Jan. 27, 1900.

New Books.

PLAIN TALK IN PSALM AND PARABLE. By Ernest H. Crosby. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co.

In this new book of verse Mr. Crosby deals in a plain and forcible way with the evil condition of society resulting from a failure to appreciate and live out the simple elemental principles of Christianity. Tolstoy, in a personal letter to Mr. Crosby, writes as follows about the book:

"I like the book very, very much. Some of the pieces—the choice is difficult because all are very good—I will have translated into Russian and published. There is nothing more new and interesting than the most common subjects looked at from a Christian point of view,

and that is what you are doing in your book, and doing with talent and sincerity."

THINGS AS THEY ARE. By Bolton Hall. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. Cloth, small 12 mo., 291 pages. Price, $1.25.

Mr. Hall, who is one of the most uncompromising advocates of "the spiritual philosophy of the kingdom of heaven" as the only remedy for the social wrongs of the world, presents in "Things as They Are" his views of social and political life, institutions and methods in a series of nine essays and fifty fables. The essays form about one-half the book and are designed to show the purpose and the order of the development of man. The fables are intended to illustrate the principles according to which human development should take place. The book is forcible, terse, racy, readable, even where it borders on being a bit childish. It is so true to "things as they are" that it is frequently painful, and not infrequently positively funny. No one who commences the first essay, in which is recorded the failure of a "born Quaker" to live according to the Golden Rule in society as it is, will want to lay the book down till he has read the last fable about the "visionary" who dashed his own life out constructing a bridge over the "great gully" for other men to cross upon.

A LOVE-LIT PATH TO GOD. By Hattie C. Flower, Boston: B. O. Flower, Copley Square. Cloth, 115 pages.

The spirit of this little book is of the choicest. The author quotes profusely from the New Testament, and adds notes and comments relating to spiritual life. We quote one utterance which reveals the thought, purpose, and end of the book: "It is true, as the poet affirms, that the sole necessity of earth and heaven is love, for 'love is the fulfilment of the law.' When, through education, all nations have come to recognize this truth, they will engage no more in lawless warfare." The author pleads for the spirit and life out of which the kingdom of God flows, or rather which constitute the kingdom of God, and a million homes would be made better if every boy and girl in them could read what she says.

ESSAYS ON SOCIAL TOPICS. By Lady Cook. London: National Union Publishing Co., 149 Strand. Cloth, 284 pages.

This book of essays contains thirty-three articles of varying lengths, discussing Virtue, Modesty, Maternity, Mothers and their Duties, True Love, Marriage, Wives and Mistresses, Degradation of the Sexes, Regeneration of Society, Wrongs of Married Men, Should the Poor Marry, Morals of Authors, and a number of other kindred subjects. The thoughts expressed are elevated and sensible, the treatment frank but thoroughly chaste and womanly.

Frederick the Great and Arbitration.

In connection with the meeting of the late Peace Conference, it is of interest to learn that during the Seven Years' War it was proposed to form a European Court of Arbitration. But it is still more interesting to become acquainted with the views of the greatest ruler Prussia ever possessed with regard to that proposal. It was in the third year of that war (in 1758), when the conviction began to gain ground in France that all efforts to conquer Prussia would be useless. The battles of Prague, Rosbach and Leuthen had spoken too emphatically, while France was being threatened by England, in her colonies, in the Mediterranean and even along her coasts. The resolution was, therefore, formed at Paris to submit proposals of peace to the King, but, owing to the fact that France was the ally of Austria, it was impossible to do so in a direct way. A circuitous method was adopted, the Margrave of Ansbach, the brother-in-law of the King, being asked to intervene. He had to submit proposals to the King and at the same time to endeavor to create the impression that those proposals emanated from himself, offering also to do the same to France. After the various conditions for the reëstablishment of peace had been set out, the document, dated July 12, 1758, closed as follows: "In order to make this peace lasting and 'for ever,' it is expressly determined that in case a quarrel or dispute should arise, whether it be between the Empress-Queen, her heirs and successors, and the King of Prussia and his heirs, or the Kings of Prussia and Poland, none of the said Powers should ever take to arms, but that by treaty a Court of Arbitration (France, England, Sweden and Russia) be appealed to, which, in accordance with fairness, justice, customs, and the imperial constitution, is to decide on those differences, and in such a manner that the Power which attacks the other without waiting for the decision of the Court of Arbitration is to be constrained by it to make immediate compensation, for which purpose the Powers forming the Court of Arbitration will intervene with all their might and all their forces, without being able to urge any excuse for their release."

In his answer of July 28, the King thanked the Margrave for his good intentions, but doubted whether any benefit would come from those proposals, as the chief causes of the war were not touched thereby, and concluded by saying: "Finally, I must not omit to observe that neither myself nor the Queen-Empress could ever submit to a Court of Arbitration as proposed by the project, which attacks directly the rights of every ruler, would bring in its train no end of difficulties, and to which no sovereign Power would lend a hand." Once more the Margrave, on August 24, after enumerating the various points of the proposed peace, reverted to the question of the Court of Arbitration by saying: "My intention was not to convey that the proposed Court of Arbitration should form the chief point; my view is that the parties should have a free hand without subjecting them to the evils arising therefrom." This question of an International Court of Arbitration was put aside, and the King wrote in reply: "If the French, Austrians and Russians have anything to say let them speak out; but as far as I am concerned I shall confine myself to defeating them and being silent."—*London Morning Post.*

The Lessening of the Terrors of War.

BY THOMAS B. REED.

What, then, has ameliorated war? Perhaps it will aid us to know how it has been ameliorated. War no longer demolishes cities. Private property is sacred. No pillage is permitted. But for the refusal of the United States no privateering would have been allowed long before the conferences at The Hague, and the commerce of mankind would have safely moved over the seas. France and England have great commerce and great navies, and object to privateering. The United States has the same religion, but not the same navies, and thought it would rather issue letters of marque. Interest and not morality seems to act. War is made more and more to respect material interests. Men have found by experience—which is another name for knowledge—that it does not pay in the long run to destroy property, and hereafter they will find out that it does not pay to destroy life. War is dying out because men have something else to do. They are engaged in trade, in enterprises which war interferes with. Life is getting every day to be better worth living. Hence men do not want to lose it. When the life of men, like the life of Australian diggers, was only an alternation of starving and eating to such repletion as made them roll on the ground in agonies of surfeit, a man must have been very particular who cared whether there was war or not. But when the interests of all nations get so universally interwoven with the warp and woof of trade that the knowledge of its devastations will be brought home to all men, war will cease. But the proclamation that there shall be no more war will come from the tradesmen, and not from the preacher.—*Saturday Evening Post.*

Only a Beginning.

Victor Hugo wrote in his old age: "I feel in myself the the future life. I am rising, I know, toward the sky. The sunshine is over my head. Heaven lights me with the reflection of unknown worlds.

"You say the soul is nothing but the result of bodily powers: why then is my soul the more luminous when my bodily powers begin to fail? Winter is on my head and eternal spring is in my heart.

"The nearer I approach the end, the plainer I hear around me the immortal symphonies of the worlds which unite me. It is marvelous, yet simple. It is a fairy tale, and it is a history. For half a century I have been writing my thoughts in prose, verse, history, philosophy, drama, romance, tradition, satire, ode, song—I have tried all. But I feel that I have not said the thousandth part of what is in me. When I go down to the grave I can say, like so many others: 'I have finished my day's work;' but I cannot say, 'I have finished my life.' My day's work will begin the next morning. The tomb is not a blind alley, it is a thoroughfare. It closes in the twilight to open with the dawn. I improve every hour because I love this world as my fatherland. My work is only a beginning. My work is hardly above its foundation. I would be glad to see it mounting and mounting forever. The thirst for the infinite proves infinity."

Men of the noblest dispositions think themselves happiest when others share their happiness with them.—*Taylor.*

It is foolish to get discouraged because reform in a simple term does not correct the errors of generations. Like everything else, reform must have time.

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OF THE
AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

ART. II. This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

ART. III. Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth and goodwill towards men may become members of this Society.

ART. IV. Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

ART. V. The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

ART. VI. The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

ART. VII. All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

ART. VIII. The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than twenty members of the Society, including the President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. All Officers shall hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and the Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in any office of the Society. There shall be an Executive Committee of seven, consisting of the President, Secretary and five Directors to be chosen by the Board, which Committee shall, subject to the Board of Directors, have the entire control of the executive and financial affairs of the Society. Meetings of the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee may be called by the President, the Secretary, or two members of such body. The Society or the Board of Directors may invite persons of well-known legal ability to act as Honorary Counsel.

ART. IX. The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

ART. X. The object of this Society shall never be changed; but the Constitution may in other respects be altered, on recommendation of the Executive Committee, or of any ten members of the Society, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting.

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